1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

551 Names were given to children very soon after birth. Names were frequently changed and given away. A man would receive his father's name
553 from the latter, or would take it after his death. If a child were sickly, a relative, such as a grandfather, sometimes gave him another name. A sick person sometimes also took a new name in order to recover. Renowned warriors sometimes gave away their names to young men. They might retain the same name for themselves, or take a new one. One very aged man gave away his name to a young man, telling him, "I give you my name in order that you may have as long a life as I." This was done without the occasion or accompaniment of a ceremony.

There seems to have been no prohibition against mentioning the name of the dead, nor even any reluctance on the matter. Some people, however, were ashamed to speak their own names.

551 Twins, called niiçan, were named, if boys, respectively Kaaen and Niiça^{n}.
845 The latter name, however, was not always used, an ordinary name being given instead. Girl twins were not called by these names.

302 The hair was formerly worn in braids, as at present customary among the Plains tribes, but also erect over the forehead. The women wore their
[765] hair either in braids or sometimes loose. In mourning, the hair, especially of the women, was cut about halfway across the cheek.

304 Ear-piercing, which among the Arapaho is performed on ceremonial occasions, and is itself accompanied with ceremony and giving of presents, was said among the Gros Ventre to be unaccompanied by special ceremonial actions. A woman or any one else does the piercing.

857 Boys who were herding horses sometimes took off their clothes and
673 daubed themselves with mud until they were unrecognizable. They painted their horses, and made shields of willow. Then they came to the camp,
868 mounted or on foot, to steal meat. Approaching the camp like a war-party, they would select the best meat hanging outdoors, charge on it, take it, and run. The old men and women and children chased them with clubs, but of course without success. The boys would go back to where they were herding, and have a feast.

576 The Gros Ventre say that both hand-shaking and kissing are aboriginal with them.

GAMES.

● 524 A common cup-and-ball game called ts$\ddot{o}$$\ddot{o}$tskuutja^{n} ("throw in") consisted of four hollow deer or antelope leg bones, each about two inches long, attached to a string passing through them, at the end of which there was a needle eight or ten inches long. This game appears to be identical with

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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the Arapaho type shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 397, Fig. 154). In place of the needle, grease-wood or bone was formerly used. The bones usually had small holes bored through their sides, but these, if caught on the needle, scored only one point. The bones were usually swung with the needle pointing away from the body, in such a manner, that, when they were horizontal, a sudden motion backward of the needle drew them over its point. An expert player usually caught all, or at least several, of the bones at each throw. There were usually small loops of beads at the end of the string. Each of these, when caught on the needle, scored as much as had been agreed upon. The four bones also counted variously. In one set they are marked respectively 2, 3, 4, and 5 in parallel notches; but the owner of the game was in the habit of counting them as 6, 7, 8, and 9, the one with the highest value being farthest from the needle. It seems that other values — such as 10, 20, 30, and 40 — were sometimes given the four bones, if the players wished to play rapidly. It is said by some that, whereas a single bone or loop when caught counted as many points as had been agreed upon, if two or three bones or loops were caught, they counted only two or three points instead of the sum of the scores that each was worth individually. A considerable number of sticks were used for counters, a hundred or more according as there were two or more players. As is customary in Indian games, the counters were not divided between the players to begin with, but were in a neutral pile, from which the players took as many as their score entitled them to, until the heap was divided between them. Only after this did they begin to win from each other. Usually a man swung until he had missed three times, when his opponent was handed the game. When there were four players, they formed two sides. It is said that when the original heap of counters is exhausted, the player who is then throwing must hand over the bones to his opponent, even without having missed. The game's stakes, of course, are won when one player or one side has all the counters.

The dice of the Gros Ventre differ from those of the Arapaho. The latter have both small flat dice and long stick dice. The former may have a small form of the game; but long dice are certainly the prevailing type, as all sets seen were of this kind. The Gros Ventre dice are much flatter than the Arapaho stick dice, though of about equal length, and sometimes are made of bone. Thus they form in themselves something of a transition between the two types of Arapaho dice. The Arapaho long dice are essentially split sticks. One side is convex. The flat side may have the pith removed. The Gros Ventre dice are small boards, or similarly proportioned pieces of bone, rounded or pointed at the ends, and ornamented on one side with carving. The Arapaho use two sets of four sticks; the Gros Ventre,

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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524 531 A form of the widely spread guessing-game occurred among the Gros Ventre. Two buttons, which were enclosed in the hand, were used. At the beginning each player held one button. One of them guessed in which hand the other held the button. If he guessed wrong, his opponent got four counters; but if he guessed right, his opponent must yield the button to him. When he held two, his opponent guessed in which hand each of them was. If his opponent guessed wrong, the player received two counters; but if his opponent was right, the player must hand over both buttons, and himself guess. The game was played for twelve stick counters. These at the beginning were in a pile belonging to neither of the players. This neutral pile was drawn upon until exhausted, before either player gave counters to the other. This method of using counters was customary in Arapaho and Gros Ventre games.

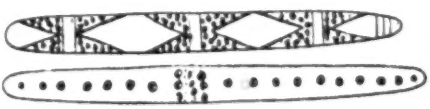

Fig. 18 (50-4325, 50-4325 a). Dice. Lengths, 15 cm., 16 cm.

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The buttons used in this game are different from those the Arapaho have had in recent years. They lack symbolism altogether, and are even without the red-black color-dualism obvious in the Arapaho game. The elaborate counters, food-sticks, pointers, and head-dresses of the Arapaho are also not found among the Gros Ventre. Of one pair of buttons, one was of brass beads, the other of green glass beads. They were called respectively "long" and "short." Another pair, made of bone, are illustrated in Fig. 19. A single button made of bone, apparently from a tooth-brush-handle, is shown in Fig. 20.

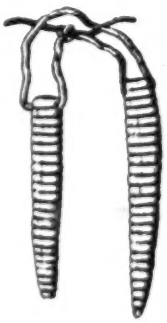

Fig. 19.

Fig. 20.

Fig. 19 (50-1931 a, b). Hiding-buttons. Length, 7 cm.
Fig. 20 (50-1917). Hiding-button. Length, 6 cm.

526 857 Boys shot arrows or threw sticks at a netted hoop, apparently identical with the Arapaho hoop except for nomenclature. The central mesh, called the "crow" or "crow's heart," won the game for whoever hit it. If the "crow's heart" was not pierced, a point was scored by the arrow nearest to it. An arrow passing through the netting without being held in it counted nothing. If one of the hoops rolled within reach, a player was at liberty to

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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ends of the main portion of the sling, and then looped on themselves through a slit near one end.

The bull-roarer and buzzer were both well known to the Gros Ventre, but seem to be only children's toys. They were both called nakan"ta" ("making cold," a name given also to the thermometer), probably from the widespread Indian idea that the bull-roarer breeds wind. The buzzer was made of a foot-bone of a buffalo, with a sinew string on each side, by which it was twirled, and then drawn so as to hum. The Arapaho type of buzzer is the same. The Gros Ventre bull-roarer seems to differ from the Arapaho form. Fig. 20 shows one of two very similar models, both of wood. The small, well-marked head, the long taper and point, and the numerous small notches, mark a distinct form. The sinew string is of about the length of the stick handle.

WAR.

Men generally went to war on foot, carrying food and moccasins on their backs. While on the trip they did not boil meat, but roasted it. Scouts, called "wolves," were sent out ahead. When these returned, running in a zigzag course, and shouting, it was a sign that they had seen something. If they had seen lodges, they barked like wolves. While they came, the women in the party stood in a row and sang, having made a pile of buffalo-chips. The "wolves" stopped a short distance away, and the leader of the party went to them. They came with him back to the pile of buffalo-chips, where he stopped, and, facing the party, recounted coups. After this, one of the scouts came before them and reported what he had seen. Upon this, all rushed at the pile of buffalo-chips, and kicked them about. If the enemy were near, they would now take off their heavier clothing, such as their robes, and dress and paint for war.

On returning to their camp victorious, the party approached stealthily, and made a charge upon it, often shooting; and sometimes the people in the tents jumped up out of their sleep in the early morning, thinking they had been attacked. The man who had killed an enemy, the one who had struck him first (whether dead or alive), and the one who had taken his gun, were held in about the same esteem. After the return to camp, a dance was made. Drums were beaten; and the women, who were standing in a curved row, danced in a circle toward the men, who stood in a row, and back again. The women carried the new scalps on sticks. If an enemy were killed near the home camp, his feet and hands might be cut off and carried on sticks, like the scalps. During this dance the man who first

CHAPTER VIII

CHILDHOOD

858 In the days before the buffalo disappeared and before formal schooling was available, childhood, it was said, for girls was shorter and for boys was longer than at present. A girl was ordinarily [582] given in marriage before she was twelve years old—certainly before she attained physiological maturity. A boy on the other hand, though seemingly anxious to participate in hunting and in war as soon as he was able, was not forced to bear the full responsibilities of adulthood until the end of adolescence. While there was considerable variation from family to family in the amount of time required of children in training for practical tasks, all enjoyed a considerable amount of " free time."

PLAY

857 Singer and Coming Daylight, the two oldest of our informants,
526 in recalling the amusements and pastimes of their youth, decided that sliding down hills was one of the most pleasurable as it could be done at any time of the year. In winter, when there was snow, [493] the boys used a kind of sled made by lashing buffalo rib-bones together. Girls managed just as well by simply sitting on their robes and holding between their legs the end which usually hung free. In summer a stiff buffalo hide was used for sliding down the grassy slopes.[1] When the water was frozen, boys and girls alike [524] skated with their feet on the ice, thus clearing a slick surface on which to spin their tops made of horn.

857 Swimming, however, was the great sport in summer. Girls left
526 their dresses close to the bank, those of the older girls in a neat
481 row closest to the edge and those of the smaller girls in the next row. Beginners used the dog-paddle, but the boys developed profi-

[1] For this and some other types of amusement, see Kroeber, 1908, pp. 190–91.

ciency with the overhand stroke and girls with the breast stroke.[8] Sometimes the children amused themselves by rolling down the bank so that their bodies made a loud smack as they hit the water. At other times they held contests to see who could dive and stay under the longest time, or who could make the biggest bubble by exhaling under water. Follow-the-leader was played even in big rivers like the Missouri, but only the more courageous participated in this game. The one who had the reputation as bravest was the leader, and Coming Daylight claimed that she, herself, often led off, one of her accomplishments being the ability to swim quite far under water.

There was no adult supervision of children at play and they spent much time at the water's edge, even when not intending to swim. Modelling in clay was done by boys as well as by girls. The latter liked especially to form wet clay into "parflesches" and incise marks to represent beaded and painted designs.

Walking on stilts, teetering on logs, swinging by standing in a loop of rawhide, all were considered enjoyable activities for little girls. Nevertheless some of their games were quite rough and-tumble. In one such game, girls formed a circle, each pinching the flesh on the back of her neighbor's left hand; while standing thus they sang a song which was repeated as many times as necessary until someone let go of her neighbor's hand; whereupon this girl was jumped on and mauled by all the others. In another game, one girl, with her eyes closed, would try to find the others who were seated in a row on the ground. Different ones would call out: "This way! This way!" Each was anxious to be the first discovered. As soon as the girl who was "it" touched one of the others, she picked her up and, carrying her upside-down on her back to the spot from which she had originally started, she dumped her burden on the ground. This procedure was repeated until "it" had carried each girl, but the last one to be dumped was tickled unmercifully by all the others.

Girls played with two kinds of balls. One type was of buck-skin stuffed with deer-hair. This they would toss to one another. The other type of ball was large and made from the bladder of a buffalo cow dried and stuffed.

[8] The marked ability of the Gros Ventres in swimming was noted in 1833 by Maximilian, p. 72.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

857 buffalo cow, dried and stuffed. This type they would bounce and kick. A popular game played among girls in spring was as follows. The girls holding hands formed a big ring. One girl in the center would have a ball. She would throw it at anyone in the ring. When she hit her chosen victim on the chest with the ball, the girls let go of each other's hands and each ran for a piece of buffalo chip where she would be "safe."[8]

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A game played by boys and girls together in the evening was as follows. The children would line up according to size behind the tallest boy who would have in his hand a stick which was smouldering at the end. Each child held on tightly to the one in front of him. The boy holding the stick would try to touch the smallest child at the end of the line. The line would writhe as big sparks would fly and sometimes hair got singed. One old woman, recalling this game, remarked: "I don't know when we would get to bed, we had such a good time!"

Sometimes the children would send one of the group on an errand. Those who stayed behind would wet their hands with their tongues and say: "We will watch this to see if it takes you a long time or not." If their hands were still wet when the member of the group returned, they decided that he had done the errand very quickly.

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When there were pretty clouds in the sky a little girl might point one out to the other children and tell them to watch it. Then she would stand at the bank of the river, bending over at the waist and violently flinging her arms from side to side while singing. The others would watch the cloud and tell her that it was disappearing and soon it would be gone. "They used to think they could make the cloud disappear by singing that song."

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If a group of girls were playing together and some one boy, say from seven to nine years old, would butt in, the girls would all sit down to show that they resented the intrusion. If the boy did not leave, the girls would then form a circle around him and sing a derisive song. Thus the boy would be shamed and run off. The opportunity for this did not occur very often, since boys from about the age of seven usually went off to be by themselves

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[8] For description of ball games and illustration of type of football, see Kroeber, 1908, fig. 23.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

at play. It was said that a girl, of course, would never think of attempting to break into a group of boys. 857 524

Sometimes a group of boys tried to break up the girls' play. One way they pestered them was to wait until they were about to slide down a hill. Just as a girl would be ready to start, one of the boys would grab one of her legs and spin her around so that she would go down the hill backwards.

A favorite sport among boys involved skill in shooting arrows.[4] One game was to plant a marked arrow as a target. Then two boys would shoot two arrows each, and the one whose arrow came closest to the marker would take the arrows of his opponent. Sometimes they would see who could shoot the greatest distance. An interesting variation was to fasten a bow to upright sticks, one stick shorter than the other, so that the bow slanted with the string up. The player would stand on one side of the bow and tap the arrow against the bowstring to get the string vibrating, and when he judged the vibration sufficient to send the arrow toward the marker about 35-40 feet distant, he would release the arrow. Then another player would try his luck. The one who came closer to the marker would take the arrow of the one who lost. 857 526

Boys played a variant of the hoop and pole game. The hoop was larger than that used in the game as played by adults and a split stick was used as lance. The thrower aimed at the center of the wheel and, if he hit it, the shot was called "the crow." Another wheel game played by boys was rolling hoops made of green willow wrapped with willow bark. There were no crosspieces in this wheel which was about 16 inches in diameter. Two teams lined up and the hoop was rolled as swiftly as possible by a member of one team while the members of the opposing team by shooting arrows tried to hit the rim of the hoop. If one succeeded and thus stopped the wheel, he retrieved his arrow, placed the hoop against a rock and had a chance to hit the rim while the hoop was at rest.

Occasionally there was trouble between boys who were contesting. Thick told of one occasion when he and his partner were betting against two other boys. Thick himself happened to make the winning point by splitting the upright arrow at which they 857 526 578

[4] Some boys' games are described by Kroeber, 1908, pp. 186–87.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

them, he was afraid to go to his own home, so he ran to a neighbor's. Jim's father found him there half-crying. He took Dwarf by the wrist and said: 'Come my friend.' He led him to his home and Dwarf thought he was going to be killed. On the contrary, however, Jim's father led him into his lodge and said: 'My friend, I am glad you made my boy cry. I have never laid a hand on him nor did I ever make him cry, and I'm glad you have done this.' He then gave Dwarf a big pile of meat and told him to eat as much as he liked and to take the rest home. As Dwarf was leaving Jim's father took a valuable Hudson's Bay blanket and cut it in two and gave him half saying: 'Here is this, use it for your blanket.' Then he took another half-blanket and said: 'Have your mother make leggins for you. Friend, I am glad you made my boy cry. I thank you for it. Now you can go home.' It just so happened, fortunately for Dwarf, that Jim Shortman was a beloved-child." [6]

Occasionally girls, or sometimes boys and girls together, formed a group in the evening to sing in front of the lodge of a rich family who they knew had such a specially loved child. The group danced and sang and then the woman of the lodge would invite them in. She would feed them and say that she was doing so in the name of that beloved-child.

Coming Daylight described how she joined groups who were going around the camp circle singing in front of the lodges of those who had returned successfully from a war party. This was before she was married and so she had to get permission from her grandmother. Mounted on a horse with a girl friend her own age, whose brother was supposed to keep an eye on them, they rode with the others. Singer admitted she had not participated in such singing parties when she was a child because she never had a horse to ride upon.

Much of the leisure time of children was seemingly spent in play which reflected the daily routine of adult life as well as many aspects of the life cycle. A group went quite far outside the camp circle, for instance, to play they were "married folk." If little boys went along with the girls, some would be "husbands," some "sons" and "sons-in-law." The "women" would tell their

[6] For details on the concept of the beloved-child, see Flannery, 1941.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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"husbands": "Go out and hunt buffalo." The boys would go off and stay a little while and on their way back made noises like neighing horses. This would be a sign for the girls to come to meet them and make comments such as: "Oh, what a lot of meat you are bringing!" Then they would pretend to slice, cook, and eat this imaginary meat. Once in a while the children actually [224] snared a gopher, the skin of which served very well in their play as a food sack.

In order to lend excitement to this kind of play, they might divide into two groups and one "tribe" would attack the other. When their "husbands" or loved ones were "killed," the girls mourned, crying just as they had observed grown-ups do, even going so far as to make marks on their legs with mud to represent cuts. A "corpse" would be prepared for "burial," as they had seen the dead wrapped, with the exception that in play they failed to wrap the head.

Sometimes girls would take the foreleg of a buffalo, for example, and wrap it up to serve as a "baby." After having gotten from the river a certain kind of reed to serve as their hair, when the baby "died" they cut off their "hair" as a sign of mourning.

Many women described the lodges they, as children, built which [492] were large enough to play in. Garter Snake used a big yellow dog that belonged to her grandmother as a horse, and when her lodge moved she packed everything on a travois which the dog drew. When it was not convenient to have the lodges built large enough to actually accommodate the children inside, the formation of the camp circle was copied by making large leaves into the shape of tipis. Sticks then represented horses and other sticks attached thereto were travois. These little wooden horses might be fitted out like real ones, with miniature beaded horse blankets, and so on. Occasionally, too, a little boy might pretend he was a horse and drag the travois while being led by a girl as he held a line in his mouth. When this type of horse was out grazing, the owner would have a difficult time catching it.

Sometimes the girls pretended that they cut off their little fingers as a sacrifice, even holding sage to the "wound" as in real life. Coming Daylight and Garter Snake, both of whom as children were associated with one of the Sacred Pipes, mentioned that

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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many girls liked to pretend that they had one of these Pipes at their play-lodge. They used a certain kind of flower to represent the Pipe and would put it outside the play-lodge in the same position as the real Pipe was placed. They smudged and sang Pipe songs just as their elders did. Once in a while they would pretend they were going to transfer the Pipe. Mud was smeared on their foreheads just as the Keeper used paint. The others would seize the new "Keeper," paint him, go through an imitation of the ceremonies, sing songs, and so on. At the end of the game, however, the rest of the children finally took the "Keeper" and dumped him in the water head foremost,—an indignity that would have been out of the question in regard to a real Keeper.

Thus it was evident how much children learned by observation. It was specifically stated in regard to the learning of songs that no one ever sat down with a child to teach him a special song or dance, that he would pick up songs and dances by hearing and seeing them performed at the various ceremonies. Similarly, according to both Coming Daylight and to Singer, there was no special teaching in regard to a knowledge of the Supreme Being. Children would know about Him because they would from infancy have heard older people mention Him. In the old days people never did anything without first saying a prayer. The prayers always started out by mentioning the name of the "One above the White Man," and then names of other beings followed.[6]

Training

Formal training, in skills necessary for women's work, was begun for little girls at an early age. This was usually in the hands of a female relative,—a grandmother or perhaps a widowed aunt,—to whom the child would be sent at about the age of seven years. The reason for removing a girl from her immediate family circle was said to have been to protect her virginity. Her parents wanted to send her "where no men were living, as they didn't want a girl around home with her father, brother, male cousins." Should there not be a suitable relative, however, the girls' parents would keep her at home and she would receive training in domestic duties from her own mother. In any case, the girl was sup-

[6] Religion is treated in full in Cooper Ms. 1949.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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record of the original Jack Wilson (Wovoka) visiting the Gros Ventres. Could the Jack Wilson above mentioned be some other Indian who was an impostor or one who in good faith took Wovoka's white-man's name?

In addition, the causes listed by The Boy and Thick for the failure of the Ghost Dance to take real root among the Gros Ventre, the chicanery, racketeering and sexual episodes, attributed by many of the Gros Ventres to the leaders of the movement, must have contributed appreciably to the same result.

At any rate, the movement lasted only two years, 1891-1893, and appears to have left no permanent impression on Gros Ventre life. At or shortly after these dates, however the modern non-gambling hand game was introduced from Ghost Dance sources.

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3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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who knows me and whom I know is my husband. But many of you have tried to [seduce me] but did not succeed. Ninä:nä'ak is listening to me and he knows I am telling the truth. Sunshine gives the most light, and what I have to say has nothing hidden in it. It is as true as the light of day which sunshine gives. My husband is off on a war party and he will distinguish himself during it, and this will be another mark that I am telling the truth.'

"Then the old men and old women drowned out one another singing her praises. All thought her a wonderful woman, being alone at night and so beautiful and yet withstanding all advances. Her name was Speaks Holy, and her husband's, Sun Old Man.

"After the bones had been uncovered a dance was held, including a contest between a man and a woman. A woman and a man got up and danced toward each other, each making faces at the other, pulling noses, and so forth. The one who laughed first lost and was pushed back into his or her seat. The winner remained on the floor and challenged. Another, of the opposite sex, then got up from the side of the loser and contested with the previous winner. And so the contest went on until one, a man or woman, won in four successive bouts. When this happened he or she was the winner. All the people then threw them [each successive loser?] down and covered them up with their robes. Then there was food and feasting and the affair ended.

"There was no prayer or smudging or other rite, except the oath the woman took on the spot to the Supreme Being, Ninänä'ätc. The young woman in the case had taken upon herself a serious thing. She took an oath. . . . She was glad of the opportunity to declare her fidelity. . . .

"At the end the double lodge was torn down. Early in the morning, after the third night, the war party returned. . . . Sun Old Man had counted coup, he had struck an enemy and had returned with something. So his wife must have told the truth, for nothing had been prearranged. All this added to the fury of other husbands against their wives. The women denied and said: 'We did not want to do this publicly. What that woman did in uncovering the bones was just a bid for notoriety. We can be faithful without doing that. We are humble.'

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

two enemy friends to strip the loser bare of everything he owned, down to his very lodge, was, like a wheel game of the same order of magnitude, a crowning event in Gros Ventre gambling, one arousing most intense popular interest. One of our informants was, in view of this fact, of the opinion that gambling among the Gros Ventre may have been first invented by enemy friends.

The keepers of the two most sacred pipes, the Flat Pipe and the Feathered Pipe, were not allowed to gamble with any one, nor were their wives, nor (probably: our chief informant was not sure) ex-keepers. Rare exceptions may have occurred in practice. Should an enemy friend of a keeper taunt him into betting and should the challenger lose, he would lose not only his wager but also in a sense his life. For his life would in consequence be shortened, unless the keeper took pity on him and through submitting him to the appropriate ritual procedure averted the penalty. It was believed too that the keeper could not lose if, against the rules, he really did gamble. Gamblers, at least notorious ones, were not selected as pipe keepers.

Keepers and their wives were subject to a great many other restrictions. They had to maintain a high degree of dignity, to practise many kinds of abstention and "asceticism," and to be benefactors to and intercessors for all the people. It seems probably that the taboo on their gambling was related to one or more of these aspects of the keepership.

Ritual "grandfathers" among the Gros Ventre were of two kinds. A retiring sacred-pipe keeper became automatically "grandfather" to the incoming keeper and instructed him in the ritual, prerogatives and duties of the keepership; a candidate for a sacred lodge chose an older man who had been through the rite as a ritual "grandfather" who would instruct him in the ceremonies and observances of the lodge in question. A person would never gamble against his ritual grandfather. The relationship established between grandfather and grandchild in both cases was predominantly a respectful and sacred one. Against his ritual grandfather a man would not even play in the modern non-gambling 4-button hand game.

The foregoing rather intricate "bettor-wager" gambling pattern appears to be the result of the orderly interplay of five chief determinants or conditioning factors.

The most important and most basic determinant was that of in-group altruism, cohesion, and loyalty, decreasing in intensity from closer and smaller circle to more distant and larger circle, from biological family, to kinship group, to band, to lodge and society, to tribe as such, to more or less friendly alien tribe, and stopping short of hostile alien tribe. In general, the less intense the